

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ISLAMA 02059 011126Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-01 USIA-06 AID-05  
TRSE-00 /060 W  
-----073422 011653Z /53

R 010440Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6102  
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 2059

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT,14"  
SUBJECT: THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE

REF: ISLAMABAD A-021

1. FOLLOWING IS THE INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY FROM AN AIRGRAM ON THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE PREPARED A PART OF THE EMBASSY'S POLITICAL REPORTING PLAN AS ONE OF ITS IN-DEPTH STUDIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN.

2. THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL ALLIANCE (PNA) HAS BECOME A VICTIM OF ITS OWN SUCCESS AND OF ITS OWN CONTRADICTIONS. ALTHOUGH FORMED AS AN ELECTION VEHICLE, THE ALLIANCE HAS NEVER BEEN FULLY ACCEPTED AS A COMBINATION CAPABLE OF ELECTORAL VICTORY. RELYING ON A FUNDAMENTALLY NEGATIVE APPEAL, THE PNA SEEMED A YEAR AGO TO BE THE ONLY FORCE CAPABLE OF CHALLENGING THE BHUTTO JUGGERNAUT, AND THE ONLY MEANS FOR PRESERVING A SEMBLANCE OF DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN. IN THE MONTHS SINCE BHUTTO WAS DEPOSED BY THE PAKISTAN ARMY, HOWEVER, THE PNA HAS LOST ITS SENSE OF PURPOSE AND ITS VIGOR. WITHOUT THE DISCIPLINE OF AN ELECTION DATE, THE PNA'S  
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INNER CONTRADICTIONS HAVE RISEN TO THE SURFACE. THUS, THE ALLIANCE SEEMS INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT AS THE MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION (MLA) HAS PRE-EMPTED MOST OF ITS ISSUES, AND THE PNA HAS BEEN TARRIED IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH THE MLA'S CONSERVATIVE BRUSH. THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT THE ALLIANCE -- LIKE ASGHAR KHAN -- SEEM FREER FOR MANEUVER, WHILE THOSE WHO HAVE JOINED -- LIKE WALI KHAN -- HAVE ADDED TO THE ALLIANCE'S INNER

TENSIONS. FURTHER FACTIONAL REALIGNMENTS MAY RESTORE SOME OF THE  
VITALITY OF THE PNA -- ESPECIALLY IF A FIRM ELECTION DATE IS SET  
-- BUT FOR NOW, THE PNA APPEARS TO BE LESS THAN THE SUM OF ITS  
PARTS AND MAY HAVE ALREADY OUTLIVED ITS POLITICAL UTILITY.  
HUMMEL

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL PARTIES, STUDIES  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Review Markings:**  
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